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ORATION

TRUE AMERICANISM

BY

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, ESQ.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITY GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON
IN FANEUIL HALL, ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
OF THESE UNITED STATES, JULY 5, 1915



CITY OF BOSTON
PRINTING DEPARTMENT
1915



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS.
ORATOR OF THE DAY.

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TRUE AMERICANISM.

FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, 1915.

BY LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, ESQ.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

E pluribus unum — out of many one — was the motto adopted by the founders of the Republic when they formed a union of the thirteen states. To these we have added, from time to time, thirty-five more. The founders were convinced, as we are, that a strong nation could be built through federation. They were also convinced, as we are, that in America, under a free government, many peoples would make one nation. Throughout all these years we have admitted to our country and to citizenship immigrants from the diverse lands of Europe. We had faith that thereby we would best serve ourselves and mankind. This faith has been justified. The United States has grown great. The immigrants and their immediate descendants have proved themselves as loyal as any citizens of the country. Liberty has knit us closely together as Americans. Note the common devotion to our country's emblem expressed at the recent

Flag Day celebration in New York by boys and girls representing more than twenty different nationalities warring abroad.

On the nation's birthday it is customary for us to gather together for the purpose of considering how we may better serve our country. This year we are asked to address ourselves to the newcomers and to make this Fourth of July what has been termed Americanization Day.

AMERICANIZATION.

What is Americanization? It manifests itself, in a superficial way, when the immigrant adopts the clothes, the manners and the customs generally prevailing here. Far more important is the manifestation presented when he substitutes for his mother tongue the English language as the common medium of speech. But the adoption of our language, manners and customs is only a small part of the process. To become Americanized the change wrought must be fundamental. However great his outward conformity, the immigrant is not Americanized unless his interests and affections have become deeply rooted here. And we properly demand of the immigrant even more than this. He must be brought into complete harmony with our ideals and aspirations and cooperate with us for their attainment. Only when this has been done will he possess the national consciousness of an American.

I say "He must be brought into complete harmony." But let us not forget that many a poor immigrant comes to us from distant lands, ignorant of our language, strange in tattered clothes and with jarring manners, who is already truly American in this most important sense; who has long shared our ideals and who, oppressed and persecuted abroad, has yearned for our land of liberty and for the opportunity of aiding in the realization of its aims.

AMERICAN IDEALS.

What are the American ideals? They are the development of the individual for his own and the common good; the development of the individual through liberty, and the attainment of the common good through democracy and social justice.

Our form of government, as well as humanity, compels us to strive for the development of the individual man. Under universal suffrage (soon to be extended to women) every voter is a part ruler of the state. Unless the rulers have, in the main, education and character, and are free men, our great experiment in democracy must fail. It devolves upon the state, therefore, to fit its rulers for their task. It must provide not only facilities for development but the opportunity of using them. It must not only provide opportunity; it must stimulate the desire to avail of it. Thus we are compelled to insist upon the observance of what

we somewhat vaguely term the American standard of living; we become necessarily our brothers' keepers.

THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING.

What does this standard imply? In substance, the exercise of those rights which our Constitution guarantees — the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Life, in this connection, means living, not existing; liberty, freedom in things industrial as well as political; happiness includes, among other things, that satisfaction which can come only through the full development and utilization of one's faculties. In order that men may live and not merely exist, in order that men may develop their faculties, they must have a reasonable income; they must have health and leisure. High wages will not meet the worker's need unless employment be regular. The best of wages will not compensate for excessively long working hours which undermine health. And working conditions may be so bad as to nullify the good effects of high wages and short hours. The essentials of American citizenship are not satisfied by supplying merely the material needs or even the wants of the worker.

Every citizen must have education — broad and continuous. This essential of citizenship is not met by an education which ends at the age of fourteen, or even at eighteen or twenty-two. Edu-

cation must continue throughout life. A country cannot be governed well by rulers whose education and mental development are gained only from their attendance at the common school. Whether the education of the citizen in later years is to be given in classes or from the public platform, or is to be supplied through discussion in the lodges and the trade unions, or is to be gained from the reading of papers, periodicals and books, in any case, freshness of mind is indispensable to its attainment. And to the preservation of freshness of mind a short workday is as essential as adequate food and proper conditions of working and of living. The worker must, in other words, have leisure. But leisure does not imply idleness. It means ability to work not less but more, ability to work at something besides breadwinning, ability to work harder while working at breadwinning, and ability to work more years at breadwinning. Leisure, so defined, is an essential of successful democracy.

Furthermore, the citizen in a successful democracy must not only have education; he must be free. Men are not free if dependent industrially upon the arbitrary will of another. Industrial liberty on the part of the worker cannot, therefore, exist if there be overweening industrial power. Some curb must be placed upon capitalistic combination. Nor will even this curb be effective unless the workers cooperate, as in trade

unions. Control and cooperation are both essential to industrial liberty.

And if the American is to be fitted for his task as ruler, he must have besides education and industrial liberty also some degree of financial independence. Our existing industrial system is converting an ever increasing percentage of the population into wage-earners; and experience teaches us that a large part of these become at some time financial dependents, by reason of sickness, accident, invalidity, superannuation, unemployment or premature death of the breadwinner of the family. Contingencies like these, which are generally referred to in the individual case as misfortunes, are now recognized as ordinary incidents in the life of the wage-earner. The need of providing indemnity against financial losses from such ordinary contingencies in the workingman's life has become apparent and is already being supplied in other countries. The standard worthy to be called American implies some system of social insurance.

And since the child is the father of the man, we must bear constantly in mind that the American standard of living cannot be attained or preserved, unless the child is not only well fed but well born; unless he lives under conditions wholesome morally as well as physically; unless he is given education adequate both in quantity and in character to fit him for life's work.

THE DISTINCTLY AMERICAN.

Such are our ideals and the standard of living we have erected for ourselves. But what is there in these ideals which is peculiarly American? Many nations seek to develop the individual man for himself and for the common good. Some are as liberty-loving as we. Some pride themselves upon institutions more democratic than our own. Still others, less conspicuous for liberty or democracy, claim to be more successful in attaining social justice. And we are not the only nation which combines love of liberty with the practice of democracy and a longing for social justice. But there is one feature in our ideals and practices which is peculiarly American. It is inclusive brotherhood.

Other countries, while developing the individual man, have assumed that their common good would be attained only if the privileges of their citizenship should be limited practically to natives or to persons of a particular nationality. America, on the other hand, has always declared herself for equality of nationalities as well as for equality of individuals. It recognizes racial equality as an essential of full human liberty and true brotherhood, and that racial equality is the complement of democracy. America has, therefore, given like welcome to all the peoples of Europe.

Democracy rests upon two pillars: One, the principle that all men are equally entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and the other, the conviction that such equal opportunity will most advance civilization. Aristocracy, on the other hand, denies both these postulates. It rests upon the principle of the superman. It willingly subordinates the many to the few, and seeks to justify sacrificing the individual by insisting that civilization will be advanced by such sacrifices.

The struggles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both in peace and in war were devoted largely to overcoming the aristocratic position as applied to individuals. In establishing the equal right of every person to development it became clear that equal opportunity for all involves this necessary limitation: Each man may develop himself so far, but only so far, as his doing so will not interfere with the exercise of a like right by all others. Thus liberty came to mean the right to enjoy life, to acquire property, to pursue happiness in such manner and to such extent only as the exercise of the right in each is consistent with the exercise of a like right by every other of our fellow citizens. Liberty thus defined underlies twentieth century democracy. Liberty thus defined exists in a large part of the western world. And even where this equal right of each individual has not

yet been accepted as a political right, its ethical claim is gaining recognition.

America, dedicated to liberty and the brotherhood of man, rejected the aristocratic principle of the superman as applied to peoples as it rejected the principles when applied to individuals. America has believed that each race had something of peculiar value which it can contribute to the attainment of those high ideals for which it is striving. America has believed that we must not only give to the immigrant the best that we have, but must preserve for America the good that is in the immigrant and develop in him the best of which he is capable. America has believed that in differentiation, not in uniformity, lies the path of progress. It acted on this belief; it has advanced human happiness, and it has prospered.

WAR AND PEACE.

On the other hand, the aristocratic theory as applied to peoples survived generally throughout Europe. It was there assumed by the stronger countries that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over another, and that only by such domination would civilization advance. Strong nationalities, assuming their own superiority, came to believe that they possessed

the divine right to subject other peoples to their sway; and the belief in the existence of such a right ripened into a conviction that there was also a duty to exercise it. The Russianizing of Finland, the Prussianizing of Poland and Alsace, the Magyarizing of Croatia, the persecution of the Jews in Russia and Rumania, are the fruits of this arrogant claim of superiority; and that claim is also the underlying cause of the present war.

The movements of the last century have proved that whole peoples have individuality no less marked than that of the single person; that the individuality of a people is irrepressible, and that the misnamed internationalism which seeks the obliteration of nationalities or peoples is unattainable. The new nationalism adopted by America proclaims that each race or people, like each individual, has the right and duty to develop, and that only through such differentiated development will high civilization be attained. Not until these principles of nationalism, like those of democracy, are generally accepted will liberty be fully attained and minorities be secure in their rights. Not until then can the foundation be laid for a lasting peace among the nations.

The world longs for an end of this war, and even more for a peace that will endure. It turns anxiously to the United States, the one great

neutral country, and bids us point the way. And may we not answer: Go the way of liberty and justice—led by democracy and the new nationalism. Without these, international congresses and supreme courts will prove vain and disarmament “The Great Illusion.”

And let us remember the poor parson of whom Chaucer says:

“But Criste’s loore, and his Apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he followed it hymselfe.”



REV. CHARLES W. LYONS, S. J., President of Boston College.
CHAPLAIN OF THE DAY.

A LIST
OF
BOSTON MUNICIPAL ORATORS.

By C. W. ERNST.

BOSTON ORATORS

APPOINTED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.

For the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

NOTE. — The Fifth-of-March orations were published in handsome quarto editions, now very scarce; also collected in book form in 1785, and again in 1807. The oration of 1776 was delivered in Watertown.

1771. — LOVELL, JAMES.
1772. — WARREN, JOSEPH.^a
1773. — CHURCH, BENJAMIN.^b
1774. — HANCOCK, JOHN.^{a, c}
1775. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
1776. — THACHER, PETER.
1777. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
1778. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN WILLIAMS.
1779. — TUDOR, WILLIAM.
1780. — MASON, JONATHAN, JUN.
1781. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1782. — MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS.
1783. — WELSH, THOMAS.
-

For the Anniversary of National Independence, July 4, 1776.

NOTE. — A collected edition, or a full collection, of these orations has not been made. For the names of the orators, as officially printed on the title pages of the orations, see the Municipal Register of 1890.

1783. — WARREN, JOHN.¹
1784. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
1785. — GARDNER, JOHN.
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^a Reprinted in Newport, R.I., 1774, 8vo., 19 pp.

^b A third edition was published in 1773.

¹ Reprinted in Warren's Life. The orations of 1783 to 1786 were published in large quarto; the oration of 1787 appeared in octavo; the oration of 1788 was printed in small quarto; all succeeding orations appeared in octavo, with the exceptions stated under 1863 and 1876.

1786. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN LORING.
1787. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1788. — OTIS, HARRISON GRAY.
1789. — STILLMAN, SAMUEL.
1790. — GRAY, EDWARD.
1791. — CRAFTS, THOMAS, JUN.
1792. — BLAKE, JOSEPH, JUN.²
1793. — ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY.²
1794. — PHILLIPS, JOHN.
1795. — BLAKE, GEORGE.
1796. — LATHROP, JOHN, JUN.
1797. — CALLENDER, JOHN.
1798. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.^{2, 3}
1799. — LOWELL, JOHN, JUN.²
1800. — HALL, JOSEPH.
1801. — PAINE, CHARLES.
1802. — EMERSON, WILLIAM.
1803. — SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.
1804. — DANFORTH, THOMAS.²
1805. — DUTTON, WARREN.
1806. — CHANNING, FRANCIS DANA.⁴
1807. — THACHER, PETER.^{2, 5}
1808. — RITCHIE, ANDREW, JUN.²
1809. — TUDOR, WILLIAM, JUN.²
1810. — TOWNSEND, ALEXANDER.
1811. — SAVAGE, JAMES.²
1812. — POLLARD, BENJAMIN.⁴
1813. — LIVERMORE, EDWARD ST. LOE.

²Passed to a second edition.

³Delivered another oration in 1826. Quincy's oration of 1798 was reprinted, also, in Philadelphia.

⁴Not printed.

⁵On February 26, 1811, Peter Thacher's name was changed to Peter Oxenbridge Thacher. (List of Persons whose Names have been Changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1892, p. 21.)

1814. — WHITWELL, BENJAMIN.
1815. — SHAW, LEMUEL.
1816. — SULLIVAN, GEORGE.²
1817. — CHANNING, EDWARD TYRREL.
1818. — GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY.
1819. — DEXTER, FRANKLIN.
1820. — LYMAN, THEODORE, JUN.
1821. — LORING, CHARLES GREELY.²
1822. — GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN.
1823. — CURTIS, CHARLES PELHAM.²
1824. — BASSETT, FRANCIS.
1825. — SPRAGUE, CHARLES.⁶
1826. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.⁷
1827. — MASON, WILLIAM POWELL.
1828. — SUMNER, BRADFORD.
1829. — AUSTIN, JAMES TRECOTHICK.
1830. — EVERETT, ALEXANDER HILL.
1831. — PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM.
1832. — QUINCY, JOSIAH, JUN.
1833. — PRESCOTT, EDWARD GOLDSBOROUGH.
1834. — FAY, RICHARD SULLIVAN.
1835. — HILLARD, GEORGE STILLMAN.
1836. — KINSMAN, HENRY WILLIS.
1837. — CHAPMAN, JONATHAN.
1838. — WINSLOW, HUBBARD. "The Means of the Perpetuity and Prosperity of our Republic."
1839. — AUSTIN, IVERS JAMES.
1840. — POWER, THOMAS.
1841. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸ "The True Uses of American Revolutionary History."⁸
1842. — MANN, HORACE.⁹

⁶ Six editions up to 1831. Reprinted also in his Life and Letters.

⁷ Reprinted in his Municipal History of Boston. See 1798.

⁸ Delivered another oration in 1862.

⁹ There are five or more editions; only one by the City.

1843. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS.
1844. — CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN. "The Morals of Freedom."
1845. — SUMNER, CHARLES.¹⁰ "The True Grandeur of Nations."
1846. — WEBSTER, FLETCHER.
1847. — CARY, THOMAS GREAVES.
1848. — GILES, JOEL. "Practical Liberty."
1849. — GREENOUGH, WILLIAM WHITWELL. "The Conquering Republic."
1850. — WHIPPLE, EDWIN PERCY.¹¹ "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."
1851. — RUSSELL, CHARLES THEODORE.
1852. — KING, THOMAS STARR.¹² "The Organization of Liberty on the Western Continent."¹²
1853. — BIGELOW, TIMOTHY.¹³
1854. — STONE, ANDREW LEETE.² "The Struggles of American History."
1855. — MINER, ALONZO AMES.
1856. — PARKER, EDWARD GRIFFIN. "The Lesson of '76 to the Men of '56."
1857. — ALGER, WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE.¹⁴ "The Genius and Posture of America."
1858. — HOLMES, JOHN SOMERS.²
1859. — SUMNER, GEORGE.¹⁵
1860. — EVERETT, EDWARD.
1861. — PARSONS, THEOPHILUS.
1862. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸
1863. — HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL.¹⁶
1864. — RUSSELL, THOMAS.

¹⁰ Passed through three editions in Boston and one in London, and was answered in a pamphlet, *Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner* . . . July 4th, 1845. By a Citizen of Boston. See *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. II. 337-384.

¹¹ There is a second edition. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed & Fields. 1850. 49 pp. 12°.)

¹² First published by the City in 1892.

¹³ This and a number of the succeeding orations, up to 1861, contain the speeches, toasts, etc., of the City dinner usually given in Faneuil Hall on the Fourth of July.

- 1865.—MANNING, JACOB MERRILL. "Peace under Liberty."²
- 1866.—LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND.
- 1867.—HEPWORTH, GEORGE HUGHES.
- 1868.—ELIOT, SAMUEL. "The Functions of a City."
- 1869.—MORTON, ELLIS WESLEY.
- 1870.—EVERETT, WILLIAM.
- 1871.—SARGENT, HORACE BINNEY.
- 1872.—ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JUN.
- 1873.—WARE, JOHN FOTHERGILL WATERHOUSE.
- 1874.—FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD.
- 1875.—CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN. "Worth of Republican Institutions."
- 1876.—WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES.¹⁷
- 1877.—WARREN, WILLIAM WIRT.
- 1878.—HEALY, JOSEPH.
- 1879.—LODGE, HENRY CABOT.
- 1880.—SMITH, ROBERT DICKSON.¹⁸
- 1881.—WARREN, GEORGE WASHINGTON. "Our Republic—Liberty and Equality Founded on Law."
- 1882.—LONG, JOHN DAVIS.
- 1883.—CARPENTER, HENRY BERNARD. "American Character and Influence."
- 1884.—SHEPARD, HARVEY NEWTON.
- 1885.—GARGAN, THOMAS JOHN.

¹⁴ Probably four editions were printed in 1857. (Boston: Office Boston Daily Bee, 80 pp.) Not until November 22, 1864, was Mr. Alger asked by the City to furnish a copy for publication. He granted the request, and the first official edition (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1864, 53 pp.) was then issued. It lacks the interesting preface and appendix of the early editions.

¹⁵ There is another edition. (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859, 69 pp.) A third (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1882, 46 pp.) omits the dinner at Faneuil Hall, the correspondence and events of the celebration.

¹⁶ There is a preliminary edition of twelve copies. (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1863. (7), 71 pp.) It is "the first draft of the author's address, turned into larger, legible type, for the sole purpose of rendering easier its public delivery." It was done by "the liberality of the City Authorities," and is, typographically, the handsomest of these orations. This resulted in the large-paper 75-page edition, printed from the same type as the 71-page edition, but modified by the author. It is printed "by order of the Common Council." The regular edition is in 60 pp., octavo size.

1886. — WILLIAMS, GEORGE FREDERICK.
 1887. — FITZGERALD, JOHN EDWARD.
 1888. — DILLAWAY, WILLIAM EDWARD LOVELL.
 1889. — SWIFT, JOHN LINDSAY.¹⁹ "The American Citizen."
 1890. — PILLSBURY, ALBERT ENOCH. "Public Spirit."
 1891. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.²⁰ "The Coming Peace."
 1892. — MURPHY, JOHN ROBERT.
 1893. — PUTNAM, HENRY WARE. "The Mission of Our People."
 1894. — O'NEIL, JOSEPH HENRY.
 1895. — BERLE, ADOLPH AUGUSTUS. "The Constitution and the Citizen."
 1896. — FITZGERALD, JOHN FRANCIS.
 1897. — HALE, EDWARD EVERETT. "The Contribution of Boston to American Independence."
 1898. — O'CALLAGHAN, REV. DENIS.
 1899. — MATTHEWS, NATHAN, JR. "Be Not Afraid of Greatness."
 1900. — O'MEARA, STEPHEN. "Progress Through Conflict."
 1901. — GUILD, CURTIS, JR. "Supremacy and its Conditions."
 1902. — CONRY, JOSEPH A.
 1903. — MEAD, EDWIN D. "The Principles of the Founders."
 1904. — SULLIVAN, JOHN A. "Boston's Past and Present. What Will Its Future Be?"

¹⁷ There is a large paper edition of fifty copies printed from this type, and also an edition from the press of John Wilson & Son, 1876. 55 pp. 8°.

¹⁸ On Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added.

¹⁹ Contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1889, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library.

²⁰ Reprinted by the American Peace Society.

- 1905.—COLT, LE BARON BRADFORD. "America's Solution of the Problem of Government."
- 1906.—COAKLEY, TIMOTHY WILFRED. "The American Race: Its Origin, the Fusion of Peoples; Its Aim, Fraternity."
- 1907.—HORTON, REV. EDWARD A. "Patriotism and the Republic."
- 1908.—HILL, ARTHUR DEHON. "The Revolution and a Problem of the Present."
- 1909.—SPRING, ARTHUR LANGDON. "The Growth of Patriotism."
- 1910.—WOLFF, JAMES HARRIS. "The Building of the Republic."
- 1911.—ELIOT, CHARLES W. "The Independence of 1776 and the Dependence of 1911."
- 1912.—PELLETIER, JOSEPH C. "Respect for the Law."
- 1913.—MACFARLAND, GRENVILLE S. "A New Declaration of Independence."
- 1914.—SUPPLE, REV. JAMES A. "Religion: The Hope of the Nation."
- 1915.—BRANDEIS, LOUIS D. "True Americanism."

